

PATRICK J. CHARLES

[www.patrickjcharles.com](http://www.patrickjcharles.com)

## EDUCATION

---

**Queen Mary-University of London School of Law**, LLM Legal Theory and History with Distinction, Dec 2014.

Legal Theory and History Full Scholarship Recipient

Peer Review Editor, Queen Mary Law Journal

**Cleveland-Marshall School of Law**, Juris Doctor, May 2009.

2008 Judge John R. Brown Award for Legal Writing (\$10,000 award given annually to best student article, note, comment or paper in the United States)

**George Washington University**, B.A. History with Honors, International Affairs Conflict & Security,

International Affairs European Affairs, Jun 2005.

## EXPERIENCE

---

**Air Force Historical Research Agency, USAF**, Maxwell AFB, AL *Lead Research Team Archivist* 04/22 – Pres

**U.S. Special Operations Command, Legislative Affairs, USAF**, Washington, DC *Legislative Liaison* 01/21 – 4/22

**U.S. Senate, Office of U.S. Senator Martin Heinrich**, Washington, DC *Legislative Fellow* 01/20 – 01/21

**Dept of State, Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance Resources**, Washington, DC *Legislative Analyst* 07/19 - 01/20

**U.S. Special Operations Command, USAF**, MacDill AFB, FL *Senior Historian* 07/16 - 07/19

**Journal of Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Law**, London, UK *Peer Review Editor* 09/15 - 09/18

**24th Special Operations Wing, USAF**, Hurlburt Field, FL *Historian* 08-14 - 07/16

**352nd Special Operations Group, USAF**, Mildenhall, UK *Historian* 12/10 - 08/14

**Immigration Reform Law Institute**, Washington, DC *Legal Analyst/Legal Historian* 5/09 - 12/10

**United States Marine Corps**, Shanghai, China *Sergeant/Assistant Detachment Commander* 8/97 - 8/02

## FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

---

United States Air Force, Air Force Legislative Fellows Program, July 2019-April 2022.

Eisenhower Foundation Research Travel Grant 2019, Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, KS.

Carl Albert Congressional Research Center Visiting Scholars Grant 2018, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

Bordin-Gillette Research Fellowship 2018, University of Michigan Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI.

Clark-Yudkin Research Fellowship 2013-14, United States Air Force Academy Library, Colorado Springs, CO.

## BOOK PUBLICATIONS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

---

*Vote Gun: How Gun Rights Became Politicized in the United States* (Columbia University Press, forthcoming 2023).

“The ‘Reasonable Regulation’ Right to Arms: The Gun Rights Second Amendment Before the Standard Model,” *A Right to Bear Arms?: The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment*, Jennifer Tucker, Barton C. Hacker, and Margaret Vining eds. (Smithsonian Institution Press, 2019).

*Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry* (Prometheus Books, 2019) (paperback edition with new foreword).

*Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry* (Prometheus Books, 2018).

*United States Special Operations History, 1987-2017* (7th edition, USSOCOM History and Research Office, 2017) (contributor).

*Historicism, Originalism and the Constitution: The Use and Abuse of History in American Jurisprudence* (McFarland, 2014).

*The Second Amendment: The Intent and its Interpretation by the States and the Supreme Court* (McFarland, 2009).

*Irreconcilable Grievances: The Events that Shaped the Declaration of Independence* (Heritage Books, 2008).

---

## ARTICLES AND OTHER PRINT PUBLICATIONS

---

“Racist History and the Second Amendment: A Critical Commentary,” 43 *Cardozo Law Review* 1343 (2022).

“The Invention of the Right to ‘Peaceable Carry’ in Modern Second Amendment Scholarship,” 2021 *Illinois Law Review Online* 195 (2021).

“The Faces of the Second Amendment Outside the Home, Take Three: Critiquing the Circuit Courts Use of History-in-Law,” 67 *Cleveland State Law Review* 197 (2019).

“The Second Amendment and the Basic Right to Transport Firearms for Lawful Purposes, 13 *Charleston Law Review* 125 (2018) (invited).

“The Forgotten Emblems of the World War II Air Commandos,” 6 *Air Commando Journal*, Issue 3, 2018: 42-47.

“The Difficulties in Changing an Air Force Emblem,” 6 *Air Commando Journal*, Issue 3, 2018: 48.

“Dissecting the Origins of Air-Centric Special Operations Theory,” 81 *Journal of Military History*, Issue 3, July 2017: 803-28.

“The Call to Embrace Immigration Federalism in the United States,” 30 *Journal of Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Law* 353 (2016).

“The Faces of the Second Amendment Outside the Home, Take Two: How We Got Here and Why it Matters,” 64 *Cleveland State Law Review* 373 (2016) (lead article).

“The Sudden Embrace of Executive Discretion in Immigration Law,” 55 *Washburn Law Journal* 59 (2015) (invited).

“The Second Amendment in the Twenty-First Century: What Hath *Heller* Wrought?” 23 *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 1143 (2015).

“The ‘Originalism is Not History’ Disclaimer: A Historian’s Rebuttal,” 63 *Cleveland State Law Review Et Cetera* 1 (2015).

- 
- “Finding History: How Captain Cortez Enloe’s Journal Sheds New Light on the History of the World War II Air Commandos and Operation THURSDAY,” 3 *Air Commando Journal*, Issue 4, 2015: 11-17.
- “Weighing the Constitutionality of State Immigration Verification Laws in the Wake of *Arizona v. United States*,” 27 *Journal of Civil Rights & Economic Development* 441 (2014) (invited) (lead article).
- “History in Law, Mythmaking, and Constitutional Legitimacy,” 63 *Cleveland State Law Review* 23 (2014) (invited).
- “The Statute of Northampton by the Late Eighteenth Century: Clarifying the Intellectual Legacy,” 40 *Fordham Urban Law Journal City Square* 10 (2013).
- “The Second Amendment and Militia Rights: Distinguishing Standard Model Legal Theory from the Historical Record,” 40 *Fordham Urban Law Journal City Square* 1 (2013).
- “Historical Reflections on the Beginnings of an Air Commando Theory,” 2 *Air Commando Journal*, Issue 3, 2013: 9-13.
- “The Second Amendment in Historiographical Crisis: Why the Supreme Court Must Reevaluate the Embarrassing ‘Standard Model’ Moving Forward,” 39 *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 1727 (2012) (invited).
- “Saving the Press Clause from Ruin: The Customary Origins of a ‘Free Press’ as Interface to the Present and Future,” 2012 *Utah Law Review* 1691 (2012).
- “Recentring Foreign Affairs Preemption in *Arizona v. United States*,” 60 *Cleveland State Law Review* 133 (2012).
- “The Faces of the Second Amendment Outside the Home: History Versus Ahistorical Standards of Review,” 60 *Cleveland State Law Review* 1 (2012) (lead article).
- “Decoding the Fourteenth Amendment’s Citizenship Clause: Unlawful Immigrants, Allegiance, Personal Subjection, and the Law,” 51 *Washburn Law Journal* 211 (2012) (invited and lead article).
- “Scribble Scrabble, the Second Amendment, and Historical Guideposts: A Reply to Lawrence Rosenthal and Joyce Lee Malcolm,” 105 *Northwestern University Law Review* 1821 (2011) (selected for print from Colloquy).
- “Restoring ‘Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness’ in Our Constitutional Jurisprudence: An Exercise in Legal History,” 20 *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 457 (2011).
- “The 1792 National Militia Act, the Second Amendment, and Individual Militia Rights: A Legal and Historical Perspective,” 9 *Georgetown Journal of Law & Public Policy* 323 (2011).
- “The Second Amendment Standard of Review After *McDonald*: Historical Guideposts and the Missing Arguments in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*,” 2 *Akron Law Journal of Constitutional Law & Policy* 7 (2011) (invited).
- “The Constitutional Significance of a ‘Well-Regulated’ Militia Asserted and Proven with Commentary on the Future of Second Amendment Jurisprudence,” 3 *Northeastern Law Journal* 1 (2011) (invited and lead article).
- “Scribble Scrabble, the Second Amendment, and Historical Guideposts: A Reply to Lawrence Rosenthal and Joyce Lee Malcolm,” 105 *Northwestern University Law Review Colloquy* 227 (2011).
- “Representation Without Documentation?: Unlawfully Present Aliens, Apportionment, the Doctrine of Allegiance, and the Law,” 25 *BYU Journal of Public Law* 35 (2011).

“Originalism, John Marshall, and the Necessary and Proper Clause: Resurrecting the Jurisprudence of Alexander Addison,” 58 *Cleveland State Law Review* 529 (2010) (lead article).

“The Plenary Power Doctrine and the Constitutionality of Ideological Exclusions: A Historical Perspective,” 15 *Texas Review of Law & Politics* 61 (2010).

“The Right of Self-Preservation and Resistance: A True Legal and Historical Understanding of the Anglo-American Right to Arms,” 2010 *Cardozo Law Review De Novo* 18 (2010) (invited).

“Arms for Their Defence?: A Historical, Legal and Textual Analysis of the English Right to Have Arms and Whether the Second Amendment Should Be Incorporated in *McDonald v. City of Chicago*,” 57 *Cleveland State Law Review* 351 (2009) (lead article).

---

## NEWSPAPER AND ONLINE MEDIA PUBLICATIONS

---

“NRA Convention Protests Highlight US Gun Reform Divide,” *Deutsche Welle*, May 30, 2022.

Q&A with Frank Wilkinson, “America’s Long History of Gun Regulation,” *Bloomberg News* and *Washington Post*, November 3, 2021.

“A Historian’s Assessment of the Anti-Immigrant Narrative in *NYSRPA v. Bruen*,” *Second Thoughts: A Blog from the Center for Firearms Law at Duke University*, August 4, 2021.

“Judging the Ninth Circuits Use of History in *Young v. Hawaii*,” *Second Thoughts: A Blog from the Center for Firearms Law at Duke University*, April 16, 2021.

“The Black Panthers, NRA, Ronald Reagan, Armed Extremists, and the Second Amendment,” *Second Thoughts: A Blog from the Center for Firearms Law at Duke University*, April 8, 2019.

“The 90th Anniversary of NRA’s First Guiding Legislative Policies and the Implications for *NYSRPA v. City of New York*,” *Second Thoughts: A Blog from the Center for Firearms Law at Duke University*, December 1, 2019.

“The Untold, Somewhat Embarrassing Story Behind the NRA’s Laudatory Messages from Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower,” *Second Thoughts: A Blog from the Center for Firearms Law at Duke University*, September 23, 2019.

“The NRA is Blaming Journalists for Gun Violence,” *Slate*, May 25, 2018.

“Why Does the NRA Almost Always Win?” *Buzzfeed News*, March 23, 2018.

“Conceal-Carrying the Day: We Debated Arming More People in the 1920s as a Solution to Gun Violence. The Idea Lost then, But It’s Winning Now,” *Slate*, March 6, 2018.

“Propaganda Machinery: How the NRA Pioneered the Right-Wing Art of Demonizing the Media,” *Slate*, February 28, 2018.

“How the Gun Lobby Came to Be So Powerful,” *Newsweek*, February 16, 2018.

“Justice Thomas Needs a History Lesson in the History of the 2nd Amendment,” *History News Network*, December 11, 2015.

“The Hollow Impact of *Moore v. Madigan* on Gun Control?” *Huffington Post*, December 12, 2012.

“The Tale of Two Second Amendments,” *Huffington Post*, September 7, 2012.

“Placing the Declaration of Independence in Historical Context: Thoughts on Educating Current and Future Generations About America’s Founding Document,” *ConSource Blog*, August 4, 2012.

Encyclopedia Entries “Second Amendment” and “Gun Control,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 2010.

---

## **PUBLISHED BOOK REVIEWS**

---

“Governing Immigration Through Crime: A Reader,” 28 *Journal of Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Law* 409 (2014).

“The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation,” 28 *Journal of Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Law* 193 (2014).

---

## **PRESENTATIONS, PANELS, AND DEBATES**

---

“Race and Guns in America,” Duke University Academic Roundtable, November 19, 2021.

“Debate with Stephen P. Halbrook: What Rights Does the Second Amendment Guarantee Outside the Home,” Federalist Society, November 17, 2021 (available online).

“Militias Challenge Gun Laws in Virginia: ‘It’s About Shooting Tyrants in the Face,’” *CBS News*, November 12, 2020 (available online).

“NRA Origins and 1930s Politics,” C-SPAN 3 American History TV, Washington, DC, January 3, 2020 (available online).

“A Right to Bear Arms? The Contested Role of History in Contemporary Debates on the Second Amendment,” 2020 American Historical Association Meeting, January 3, 2020.

“Jim Bohannon Show: *Armed in America* Book Talk,” *Westwood One Affiliates*, April 19, 2019 (available online).

“Law and Society Series: The Second Amendment 228 Years Later,” Riley Institute and Charleston Law Review, Charleston, SC, February 2019.

“Book Talk: History of Gun Rights in America,” National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, PA, February 2018 (available online).

“Guns in American Society,” Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, October 2017.

“Firearms and the Common Law Tradition,” Aspen Institute, Washington, DC, September 2016.

“Fifty Years of 7th Special Operations Squadron History,” Duxford Imperial War Museum, Cambridge, UK, May 2014.

“History and the Meaning of the Constitution,” Cleveland-Marshall School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio, April 2014.

“How Much Do We Really Know About Our Gun Laws?” *NPR WBEZ 91.5 Afternoon Shift*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2013 (available online).

“The Second Amendment is First on Our Minds,” *NPR WBEZ 91.5 Morning Shift*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2013 (available online).

- “The Second Amendment Steps Outside,” *Huffington Post Live*, New York, NY, December 12, 2012 (available online).
- “The Objective Dilemma Facing State Immigration Enforcement,” Indiana University School of Law—Indianapolis Junior Faculty Workshop, Indianapolis, Indiana, March 2012.
- “Does the Second Amendment Extend Outside the Home?” Cleveland-Marshall School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio, March 2012.
- “Foreign Affairs Preemption and the Federal-State Spheres of Government,” St. John’s University School of Law Immigration Symposium, New York, New York, March 2012.
- “The History and Evolving Conceptions of the Right to Bear Arms,” Fordham School of Law Second Amendment Symposium, New York, New York, March 2012 (available online).
- “State Policy Potpourri: Some Comparative Assessments,” and “Curtailing Birthright Citizenship,” Washburn School of Law Breaching Borders Symposium, Topeka, Kansas, October 2011 (available online).
- “Law Enforcement Authority to Verify Immigration Status: *Estrada v. Rhode Island*,” Law Enforcement and Public Safety Channel, Washington, District of Columbia, April 2010.
- “*McDonald v. City of Chicago*: An Anglo-American Right to Arms?” Cleveland-Marshall School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio, April 2010.
- “Debate with Clark M. Neilly on *McDonald v. City of Chicago*,” Akron University School of Law Federalist Society, Akron, Ohio, April 2010.
- “Keynote Speaker for ‘Chamber to Chambers: Second Amendment Symposium,’” and “Panelist for ‘Who’s Right to Bear Arms?’” Northeastern University School of Law, Boston, Massachusetts, March 2010.
- “Bearing Arms in the Ohio Constitution,” Cleveland-Marshall School of Law, Cleveland, Ohio, April 2008.
- “Washington’s Decision: George Washington’s Decision to Reaccept Black Enlistments,” Trenton Chamber of Commerce Patriot Week, Trenton, New Jersey, December 2006.

---

## AWARDS

---

- Joint Civilian Service Commendation Award, July 2019.
- Allan S. Major Award for Air Force History Program Excellence, July 2016 (Air Force Level Award).
- 24th Special Operations Wing Supervisory Civilian of the Quarter, Civilian Category IV, July 2015.
- Allan S. Major Award for Air Force History Program Excellence, July 2014 (Air Force Level Award).
- 352d Special Operations Group Supervisory Civilian of the Quarter, Civilian Category II, March 2013.
- 352d Special Operations Group Supervisory Civilian of the Quarter, Civilian Category II, March 2012.
- Air Force Special Operations Command Excellence in Periodic History Award, February 2012.
- Judge John R. Brown Award for Excellence in Legal Writing, August 2008 (National Award).

Certificate of Commendation, Commanding Officer, Marine Security Guard Battalion, May 2002.

Meritorious Mast, United States Marine Corps, April 2000.

Meritorious Mast, United States Marine Corps, August 1999.

Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal, United States Marine Corps, July 1999.

Certificate of Commendation, Commanding Officer, Marine Aviation Support Group, April 1998.